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THE OUTLINE OF AN IMPROVED METHOD OF CONDUCTING ELECTIONS

WITH DISCUSSION OF THE DIRECT PRIMARY

SUBMITTED BY THE COMMITTEE ON ELECTORAL REFORM OF THE NATIONAL
MUNICIPAL LEAGUE

I. INTRODUCTION

PURITY and accuracy in elections are essentials of popular government. But purity and accuracy in actual practice are in many parts of the country only attained to a degree, and nowhere is there satisfactory freedom from suspicion of dishonesty and error. We do not have properly conducted elections. Scandals are constantly occurring to shock the public conscience, but the vast majority of frauds and errors are never revealed.

With the election law, as with so much of our governmental machinery, we have sought popular control and assurance against irregularity through checks and balances. But ideas are changing and it is time to apply the simplification remedy to election methods.

A SINGLE RESPONSIBLE HEAD

Simplification is, therefore, the motto of the Electoral Reform Committee. In the suggestions which follow, authority and responsibility for

the conduct of elections is centered in a single commissioner chosen by the governing body of each county or of each city of 50,000 or over. This commissioner appoints the various precinct election officials who also act as the registration officials. In making such appointments the commissioner must use an examination process of his own, or ask the civil service commission to pass on the fitness of candidates. He may train these officials in their duties by formal methods; he may call upon any teacher in the public service to act as an election official, or upon any citizen. The precinct officials need not be residents of the precincts in which they serve. The precinct board consists of three inspectors, and in those places where bi-partisan representation is no longer adequate the three leading parties are to be represented thereon. Personal registration of voters at least thirty days before the election is required in all cases, and annual renewal is required in places of 2,000 population and over. One element of registration is the signature of the voter, which is believed to be the

best means of guarding against false registration and impersonation. The publication of registration lists is compulsory, and a reward of \$100 is offered for the evidence of fraudulent registration. Verification of lists by the police is proposed, and the commissioners in large cities are authorized to maintain a special agency to detect fraud. The records and forms are reduced to a minimum. Only two copies of the registration book are made, and the same book serves for registration, primary, and election records.

The chairman of each precinct board is named by the commissioner. The chairman is to make all decisions on his own responsibility, with opportunity for the other members and the watchers to record a protest. The Massachusetts' ballot is recommended, it being time people stopped voting for eagles and roosters and voted for candidates. The coupon ballot is adopted as a means of guaranteeing that ballots will be voted only in the booths and in order that the precinct board may be compelled to account for every ballot furnished it.

A campaign information pamphlet at public expense is deemed advisable, which shall contain a facsimile of the official ballot and will afford a cheap opportunity to each candidate to state his case to the electorate. A residence requirement of 30 days in the election precinct is suggested to check the possibility of fraud which arises if persons may vote on the very day they move into a district. Ability to read and write English and to sign one's name is also proposed as a qualification for voting, among other reasons, to eliminate the assistance evil, and make readily possible the use of the Massachusetts' ballot. The chairman of the precinct board is responsible for directing the count of ballots, and simple

tally and return sheets only are provided, the evidence at hand indicating that complex procedural requirements are generally disregarded and worthless. Recounts are made easy and cheap. This will act as a deterrent to those who would practice irregularities in the belief that concealment is probable, and will encourage care on the part of the precinct board. The general aim of the committee is to substitute public understanding of election machinery and responsibility of officials for the present complexity, uncertainty and confusion. Elections are, like every other operation of government, conducted by men and no artificial, impersonal safeguards will be proof against the scheming of dishonest or the clumsiness of ignorant officials. It seems wiser to give substantial power to few persons and require them to act with the public's attention upon them.

The committee has made no recommendations with respect to absent voting and the use of voting machines, believing that both are still in the experimental stage. At least half the states have absent voting systems. On the whole they do not seem to be availed of to any great extent, although the percentage taking advantage of the absent ballot varies considerably among the various states. Some states report frequent fraud; others report entire absence of crookedness. Careful safeguards are necessary and these may be so constructed as to make absent voting very burdensome.

The use of the voting machine seems to be growing. It is claimed that machines are now built so that outsiders cannot tamper with them, and the count is prompt and accurate. Some makes at present, provide a party column, and this fact plus the timidity of many voters when faced with a piece of ma-

chinery with which they are not familiar will encourage "straight ticket voting."

THE KEY TO A GOOD SYSTEM

The key to a satisfactory election system is the precinct judge or inspector. The incapacity and frequent dishonesty of such officials is appalling. Popular elections secure about the poorest specimen that could be found. Appointment by a superior authority is proving much more satisfactory. Where the appointing authority takes some pains and exerts effort to secure competent election officers, such are forthcoming. The Detroit election commission has seriously tried to get good men or women, and it is generally agreed that they have succeeded.

The committee believes in the appointive principle, but recommends that responsibility be placed in one person rather than in an ex-officio or bi-partisan board. American experience has demonstrated that, as a general rule, administrative appointments by boards or commissions do not measure up to appointments by a single, conspicuous official, who cannot sidestep responsibility (praise or blame) for the calibre of people he appoints. This is sound short ballot doctrine which should be carried over to our election machinery. *Simplicity, responsibility, ability, are the considerations which the committee have had before them in framing their report.*

In conclusion we may state, that the recommendations below apply to the usual form of partisan elections. Where non-partisan elections or proportional representation are adopted, appropriate modifications will have to be made in our suggestions. It has been our purpose throughout to improve the technique of our present system.

Special acknowledgment is due to Dr. Ralph S. Boots, who very generously contributed largely of his time and special knowledge as secretary to the committee. Without his leadership this report would have been impossible.

The membership of the committee on electoral reform is as follows:

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II. REGISTRATION OF VOTERS

1. The Registration Officials in an election district or voting precinct should be the same as the election officials.

There is no reason for employing many persons in connection with the electoral process, unless it be the partisan one of influencing a few voters by petty patronage. The greater the duties of an officer the more likely he

is to attract attention to his selection and official functions. Furthermore, registration duties may enable officers to act more effectively as election officers, especially in detecting unqualified voting.

2. Personal Registration should be required in all cases.

The purpose of preliminary registration is to prevent various forms of fraudulent voting and to settle questions of qualification before election day. A number of states require personal registration only in places of five or ten thousand population. The assumption is that in smaller places the election officers know the persons qualified to vote. This is perhaps true in rural districts, but many smaller places adjoin more populous areas and are just as liable to corruption as the larger cities. Moreover, in cases where the usual provisions for registration are not applied to local elections, such as town and school district elections, some of the sharpest practices have come to light.

3. Personal Registration in Cities of 2,000 population or more should be required before each general election.

The necessity for such registration is generally conceded for larger cities. Such practice materially reduces the chances for fraud. Shocking cases of fraud have been disclosed in cities as small as 2,000 which would have been extremely difficult if personal registration had been required each year or two.

4. In Cities of Less Than 2,000 and in rural districts, personal registration should not be required before each general election, but the registration officials should register for each election all who voted at the preceding general election except those who are known to be no longer voters within the district. Opportunity should be given all who are not thus automati-

cally registered to register in person. Representative party officials and all interested electors should be privileged to inspect the registration lists.

Permanent or semi-permanent registration would probably be most desirable in all areas were it not for the difficulty of preventing fraud. This should be adopted wherever and whenever fraud can be reasonably guarded against. There is nothing to be gained by making the voters' duties difficult.

5. The Last Registration Day should be at least 30 days before the election in order that the registration lists may be properly verified.

Here the choice lies between making it possible for the qualified voter to vote, although qualified only at the last minute, and that of taking sufficient precaution against unqualified voting. It seems better to play safe.

6. Registration in Rural Districts. Those who are not carried over on the registration lists from the preceding general election, *i.e.*, old voters who did not vote at the last election and whose names would, therefore, be erased from the rolls (see section 4 above), should be allowed to register at any time prior to 30 days before election by personal appearance before the village or township clerk who should be required to certify the fact of registration to the members of the election board of the district in which registrant resides.

This proposal seeks to avoid the necessity of a general registration day for residents of villages or rural districts by allowing them to register at any time up to within 30 days of the election. The number who will need to register before each election will be small.

7. Qualifications of Voters. A voter should be 21 years of age, a United States citizen, a resident within the state for one year, and for 30 days

a resident of the election district in which he offers his vote. No person should be qualified to vote who has been convicted of treason or felony unless restored to civil rights, nor anyone guilty of receiving money or compensation for giving or withholding his vote, nor anyone guilty of offering or paying money or compensation to another for giving or withholding his vote. No one should be permitted to vote who is unable to read English and write his name.

The 30-day requirement in election districts will undoubtedly disqualify some persons who have moved just before election. These are allowed to vote in some states. The danger of fraudulent voting, however, and the need for peculiar machinery to take care of their registration, makes it better to fix a 30-day residence requirement. The requirement of literacy will disfranchise few and remove all necessity of providing complex arrangements for assistance to illiterates in voting, and the use of identification questions, etc., with their opportunity for fraud and undue influences and for delaying the voting on election day.

Ability to read and write English is already required for naturalization. This requirement would aid in enforcing the Federal rule which naturalization courts sometimes overlook.

8. Correction of Errors in Registry. On protest to the election board, the board should be empowered to correct *prima facie* errors on the registration lists.

This relates merely to clerical errors on the record which the board should have power to correct. Of course, appeal to the courts is always open to the dissatisfied applicant.

9. Verification of Lists. Registration lists should be checked to assure their integrity. This may be done by the police, but if so, some system should be applied by which the re-

ports of the police may be readily accessible to party workers and by which each policeman would be held personally responsible for the verification of each registrant in the territory assigned to him.

Frauds, except in the count, are perhaps most prevalent in registration in large cities. Prevention of false registration is checking the evil at the source. Ex-commissioner of Police, Arthur Woods, of New York City, reports that police checking is effective if the police wish it to be effective. The problem is to place a responsibility on the policeman which will prove an incentive to zealous work.

10. A Permanent Agency to Detect Fraud. A permanent agency to detect fraud should be established in each county and large city. It should be under the election commissioner to be described hereinafter. Except in the largest cities it would not require an extensive staff.

Other means than the check-up by the police will, especially in the larger cities, be necessary to prevent extensive frauds. The reward mentioned below (Section 11) plus party watchers and the police, may be sufficient in most cases, but in big cities particularly, and probably in smaller towns as well, the election commissioner should be charged with the duty of enforcing the election law in this respect.

11. Publication of Lists and Reward for Evidence of False Registration. Registration lists should be published three weeks before election in addition to being posted at the polling places. A reward of, say \$100, should be offered for the presentation of evidence leading to the conviction for false registration of any person whose name appears on the list.

Publication is simply to give to any elector a chance to learn of improper registration. Unless there is objection

to the reward offer on principle, there seems to be no reason why it would not be effectively used. It is generally certain that someone knows of every false registration (someone besides the offender), and that in many cases someone is paid for assisting in its perpetration. This reward makes it profitable to aid in convicting for false registration.

12. Challenges. Any qualified voter or watcher should be permitted to challenge applicant for registration. The challenged person should be compelled to answer appropriate questions under oath or affirmation and satisfy election officers, who should verify answers of applicant. If applicant refuses to answer questions under oath or affirmation he should be arrested. If registration is denied applicant he will have the right of appeal to the courts.

13. Character of Information to Go in Registration Book. Importance of Signature Check.

a. The record of voters at registration, enrollment, primary poll and general election poll should all go in one book. For fear that the original copy may be tampered with, stolen or accidentally destroyed, two copies should be made up concurrently by the election board.

The system of preventing fraud by triplication, and quadruplication of registration information by several officials at the time of registration is faulty. As a matter of practice, one election officer determines what is to be written, writes it in his own book and tells the others what to write in theirs. Careful recording in two books is much better than careless keeping of four. Besides, the money saving is very considerable.

b. Minimum information necessary to registration should be name, residence, place of birth, age, when and where naturalized (if foreign born), record of last registration, length of

residence in state, in election district, residence at time of last registration, signature, and in cities of over five hundred thousand, business connection and location, number of room and floor of residence, and full name of the householder with whom elector resides. Voter's signature on registration should come at right of record to be followed by blanks for signature at primary and general elections.

c. Space should be left in primary poll columns and general election poll columns for signatures of voter for comparison with signature at registration.

The signature is, after all, the chief check against impersonation and false voting. If only qualified voters register the proper use of the signature check practically prevents fraudulent voting. If the voter signs on election day in a different book from that containing his registration signature, comparison is difficult and frequently altogether disregarded. If the election signature is required to be placed immediately next to registration signature, comparison is easy both for election officers and watchers.

III. ELECTION OFFICERS¹

14. Election Commissioner. There should be one commissioner of election in each municipality of 50,000 or more. He should be appointed by the governing body of the municipality. Cities of less than 50,000 and the rural ter-

¹One member of the committee, Mr. John C. Lodge, president of the Detroit City Council, finds himself unable to endorse the single commissioner plan as set forth in Sections 14, 15 and 16, preferring the board plan as in Detroit. In that city the president of council, the recorder and the city clerk form the *ex officio* election commission. The success of this plan in one city leads Mr. Lodge to believe that a board composed of elective officers chosen on a non-partisan ballot (as in Detroit) functions more responsively and efficiently.

ritory within the county should be under the jurisdiction of one commissioner of elections appointed by the governing board of the county. The election commissioner should be appointed for a term of years subject to removal by the appointing body, and should receive a stipulated salary.

The bi-partisan board has broken down in practically every field of administration. Its use, however, remains very generally in the matter of elections. The purpose is simple—to have one party watch the other. This leads to the appointment of staunch party adherents who unfortunately are not always content to check the illegal actions of the member of the opposite party, but may try to outwit him in the commission of irregularities. Further, there are usually more than two parties in the field and bi-partisan boards afford third and fourth parties no protection. The use of a single official places emphasis on honesty and ability, not partisanship, and centers responsibility in keeping with modern movement for efficiency.

15. **The Local Election Officers** of the voting precinct should be three inspectors chosen by the election commissioner; one inspector to be chosen from each of the three largest political parties, if there be three, if not, only two should be of one political party. The election commissioner should name one as chairman of the board of inspectors. No other election officers are necessary. The inspectors should not be required to be residents of the district in which they serve. They should be well paid.

Popular election of inspectors or judges of elections is very unsatisfactory. It is a small administrative office which should never clutter up a ballot. Appointment, as in Detroit where precinct officers are named by the elections commission, is proving much more satisfactory.

Every effort to improve the administration of elections leads in the end to the local precinct board. Given honest precinct officers almost any form of election can be honestly and efficiently conducted. Given dishonest, incapable precinct officers and no amount of detailed regulation avails anything. Choice by the commissioner makes it possible to charge him with any case of dishonesty or incapacity. He will use care in appointment if his shoulders alone bear the burden of mistakes. He should know the law and the qualifications desirable. The third party representative is likely to be a good check on each of the others; and if checks are desirable there is no reason why the smaller party should not have a representative. Numerous election officials only clutter the operation. In practice one or two always do the work and determine decisions, frequently counting and recording the vote with the consent of the other members. The chairman should make all decisions subject to a record of protest by other members if they wish. Let him bear the weight of the responsibility. Numerous election officers constitute petty spoils to help maintain the organization.

16. **Selection of Local Officers.** The election commissioner should be authorized to prescribe qualifications for inspectors, and required either to provide a public examination for the selection of eligibles or to delegate this to the civil service commission. Public school teachers should be eligible without examination. In order to facilitate the reappointment of inspectors those who served satisfactorily in the preceding election should not be required to undergo an eligibility examination. The election commissioner should conduct a school for the training of inexperienced inspectors prior to election. It would be well to

pay them for the few hours they are in attendance at school.

It is very desirable to have as election officers persons who have a stake in the job. The casual officer, paid a few dollars for a day's service, has no great restraining influence to buttress him against the temptation of corrupt offers. The teacher has a position at stake. Perhaps teachers should be compelled to serve and other persons should be used only to fill up the necessary quota. This has been recommended by prominent Americans. Municipal officers in England assist in elections as a matter of course, either as poll clerks, presiding officers or in some other capacity. A little pay will often induce much greater attention to work than gratuitous service will command, even in case of persons who do not need the money and would prefer not to accept the positions at all.

IV. THE ELECTION PROPER

17. Election Districts. Cities, villages, and towns of less than 400 voters should form an election district. Cities and towns with more than 400 voters should be divided into districts by the election commissioner, each district to contain as nearly as possible 400 voters. In municipalities of more than 50,000 the districts should be determined by the election commissioner for the city. In municipalities of less than 50,000 and in the rural territory within a county, the districts should be determined by the election commissioner for the county. Each incorporated city or town should form one district unless divided. Each township (or whatever the appropriate rural unit within the county may be) should form one district unless divided.

Here again further duties are placed on the commissioner. The plan is to make his job so important that a poorly qualified man could be ap-

pointed to it only in the face of pronounced opposition of the voter. When the ballot is properly shortened precincts may contain more than 400 voters in populous areas.

18. The Ballot. Names of candidates for each office should be arranged under the description of the office (this is the so-called Massachusetts ballot). The coupon ballot should be used. The names of the candidates for the same office should be rotated (as in Minnesota, Oregon and other states). Ballots, stationery and equipment of polling places should be provided by the election commissioner, except in cases in towns of less than 50,000 where municipal officers alone are chosen. The cost of the election should be a charge upon the county except in case of special municipal elections, which should be a charge on the municipality concerned. Questions to be voted on should be on ballots separate from the ballot of candidates. Candidates for presidential electors should be on a separate ballot, or else their names should be taken off the ballot entirely as in Iowa and Nebraska.

The coupon or numbered stub ballot is intended to compel the election officers to account for every ballot furnished them and also to insure that every voter will cast the ballot furnished him at the polls, and not one already marked and in his possession. The separate presidential ballots are more easily counted (nearly always "straight") and help to enable the voter to free himself from national party influence in local matters.

19. Challenges. Each political party or organization which has nominated candidates at the election should be permitted to appoint two watchers for each polling place, one only to be on duty at a time, and each candidate at the primary two watchers, one only to be on duty at a time. Any qualified

elector should be permitted to challenge any person offering a vote.

The fullest publicity of the elective process, which does not interfere with its efficient operation, is desirable.

20. The Count. The chairman of the inspectors should direct the count. Any inspector or authorized watcher should be authorized to record a protest against any decisions and file it with the returns. Returns should be made to the commissioner of elections under whom the precinct inspector served. He should be charged with the responsibility of sending municipal, county or state returns to the proper officials. Duplicate copy of returns should be sent to the county clerk. When the ballots have been counted they should be tied in packages which should be sealed and returned to the ballot boxes. These should be locked and sealed before the inspectors separate or adjourn. The ballot boxes should be delivered promptly to the election commissioner, who should keep them inviolate for six months. All tally sheets or returns delivered to the election commissioners should be kept inviolate for two years. Complicated procedure in making the count should be eliminated. A simple tally sheet and a simple return sheet (both combined into one, perhaps) should be used.

All efforts to provide detailed methods of tally are usually futile. The officers simply will not use or observe them unless compelled to do so by disinterested watchers and police threats. The short course is the one that will be taken. The reason is that usually the required methods are slow. Here again complexity and unwieldiness is the result of striving for automatic honesty by check upon check. The better plan is to let the chairman of inspectors use his own methods and try to make him capable and honest, and allow the other inspectors to record fully a protest against any procedure with which they do not agree.

21. The Recount should be easy and cheap. Any candidate who believes himself aggrieved on account of fraud or mistake should be allowed to apply for a recount to the election commissioner on depositing \$10 for each district, but not over \$100 in case of candidates for county or municipal offices, or \$250 in case of candidates for state offices or for United States senator or representative. If the recount goes in favor of the contesting candidate, his money should be refunded. On notice to opposing candidates the election commissioner should conduct a recount in presence of candidates or counsel. Appeal would lie from the commissioner's decision on the recount to the court.

Easy recount means the possibility of bringing to light any election irregularities and tends to induce care and caution on the part of election officers. A recount is often unduly prolonged in order to make little extra jobs for friends of the organization. It should be made rather a task for a good accountant. Rarely do serious and at the same time decisive conflicts over the validity of ballot marking arise. These, of course, may demand judicial interpretation.

22. An Official Campaign Book. An official campaign bulletin should be sent to each voter two weeks before a regular election. The first page should be a copy of the official ballot. The other pages should be devoted to statements, explanations or arguments of candidates, whose names appear on the ballot, to be furnished by the candidates.

Campaign bulletins are common in connection with the initiative and referendum. It is here suggested that the plan which works well when measures are voted on will work well when men are to be voted on. It also puts a candidate on record in an inescapable way.

THE DIRECT PRIMARY, PRO AND CON

These proposals are put forward not as recommendations but as subjects for discussion. They are followed by statements of adverse criticism, and a defense of the direct primary. The direct primary has not given 100 per cent satisfaction. The anxiety of many political machines, however, to return to the old nominating convention indicates that it has not fully failed of its purpose. Whether or not these proposals represent an improvement over the direct primary as generally employed is a question on which the committee is unable to agree.

It is believed by many that the scheme here presented will democratize party control and party nominations, and at the same time preserve party leadership and party responsibility. The committee believe that these are desirable ends but are not confident, as a body, that the means here outlined will attain these ends.

The direct primary, as well as the presidential preference primary, is deserving of more national discussion than it has yet received. It is with this in mind that the following proposals are made.

I. SUGGESTIONS FOR A MODIFIED DIRECT PRIMARY

1. At each general election (or, if the time until the next general election be longer than one year, then at the municipal election preceding the next general election) each voter shall be given an enrollment blank on which he may indicate the party of which he desires to be considered a member for the purpose of participating in the selection of its party committee at the succeeding general election. However, the method employed at present in some states—enrollment at the regis-

tration preceding the election, as in New York—may not be objectionable to most persons.

2. In addition to the officers elected at the general election, there shall be elected by the enrolled members of each party, one party committeeman or party representative from each election district. The candidates of the various parties for this position shall be printed on separate party ballots; or if preferred, all parties may combine on a blanket ballot arranged in party columns.

3. Each voter shall receive the party committee ballot of the party with which he enrolled previously, as in paragraph 1 above, just as at present. Each voter at the closed primary should receive only the ballot of his own party, or if the ballots were combined, his vote would only be counted in the column of the party in which he enrolled.

4. Candidates for party committeeman shall be designated by petitions of five signers. The signers shall be enrolled members of the party for which they designate a committeeman, but they should be permitted to reside anywhere in the state. Any group of five enrolled voters of the state would thus be able to designate a party committeeman in each election district of the state. The names of those signing each petition should probably be printed on the party committee ballot.

5. About ten weeks before the general election each year the party committeemen of each party from the election districts in each assembly district shall meet in a body under the presidency of some public official and select the party candidate for assembly. On the same day the party committeemen from each election district in each senatorial district shall select the candidate for state senator. In the same manner the party candidate for Congress shall be selected. For state offices and United States senator, the candidates shall be selected by party

representatives or delegates, one from each assembly district, chosen from and by the party committeemen of each assembly district. These same persons may or may not be considered the state committee of the party. Probably they should be so considered. These committeemen for the state area could be directly elected by the party voters, in the manner described for the precinct committeemen, if considered desirable.

6. In every case the party committees shall select the party candidates from those persons for whom petitions have been filed at least two weeks previous to the meeting of the party committees. The petitions of these persons should be signed by duly enrolled members of each party residing anywhere in the state and the number should be twenty-five for an assembly district and a corresponding number of the larger districts, not to exceed five hundred for the state at large, and the signers should, in a single petition, be permitted to prepare a complete set of candidates.

7. The signers of each petition shall be made known to the party committee members. Each committeeman shall record his vote. The votes shall be published in a paper having general circulation among the members of the party.

8. Within four weeks after the party representatives shall have designated party candidates for nomination to the various offices to be filled, the enrolled voters of the party shall have the privilege of designating by petition other competing candidates for the party nominations. For assembly designations only twenty-five signers should be required and for the state officers not over five hundred, as in paragraph 6.

9. In case no designations in addition to those made by the party representatives should be made, then no primary election will be held. That is, a primary will be held only when there is a contest for the nomination between the candidates designated by the party representatives and one or more can-

didates designated by the independent petition of the enrolled party voters. Should there be a contest only for the gubernatorial nomination, let us say, in the Republican party, the ballot for the primary would contain only the names of the contestants for this office.

10. The primary will thus become a party referendum on the work of the party representatives who will thereby be made definitely responsible, collectively and individually, for the candidates they propose to the voters. Every element of popular control now existing will be preserved, and the primary will become more of a real test of the popular character of the designated candidates than it is at present.

11. In states where personal registration is required and a certain day or days fixed for it, the primary here proposed can probably be conducted on one of the regular registration days, inasmuch as there will be, in all likelihood, comparatively few contests.

12. The enrolled voters of each party shall be allowed to vote only in the primary of the party with which they have previously enrolled. That is, a voter will enroll one year for participation in electing the party representatives the next year at the general election, and the same enrollment will be valid for any primary which might be necessary following that election and preceding the second general election after enrollment.

II. DEFENSE OF THE ABOVE PROPOSAL AND ADDITIONAL EXPLANATIONS AND SUGGESTIONS

The present primary laws of the various states are quite generally under attack for several reasons. The voters fail to participate very extensively and there is a consequent complaint regarding a large expense to poll a slight vote. The parties have lost practically all responsibility for the candidates chosen, at least open responsibility, and the way is opened

for self-advertisers to capitalize the opportunity the primary offers. At any rate, it is practically impossible for the office to seek the man, and it is commonly reported that qualified candidates often will not attempt a primary campaign. At the same time in many states, especially in the east, the party leaders are practically in as complete control of nominations as ever, but at a much greater expense and without acknowledged responsibility. The best way to dignify party positions seems to be to give the incumbents a real influence recognized in the law and then employ machinery to hold them responsible for the manner in which they exercise that influence.

Under all plans for a modification of the direct primary ordinarily proposed, some second election must still be held, either to select delegates to a convention or to choose members of party committees. This means that the participation will usually be even slighter than it is at present when the voting is for candidates directly, and it means further, as almost everyone admits, that the voters who participate will be the "regulars."

The essential features of the above plan are the election of the party representatives at the general election by all the party members and the official responsibility placed upon those representatives for selecting, subject to a party referendum, the party candidates for public office. Its advantages are claimed to be (1) the participation of all the party voters in the selection of the candidates through the agency of the party representatives, (2) the elimination in many cases of the primary election which costs a large state probably \$300,000, and (3) the responsible selection of party candidates by party representatives officially

chosen for that purpose instead of by the dictation of a clique or a few leaders.

The occupation of the candidates for party representative should almost certainly be printed on the ballot. In large cities it is quite probable that many of these candidates would be office holders and the voters are entitled to know whether the party candidates are regularly the choice of the official group of "ins."

Each member of the party would vote for only one representative, but each party representative or committeeman could be given a vote in the designation of party candidates weighted according to the number of enrolled party members in his election district.

Each candidate for party representative who should receive, say 25 per cent of the vote cast for the office, could be considered elected. Since the choice is by election districts, it is possible in a close contest that the successful representatives, or a majority of them, would be chosen by a real minority of the party voters. The plan of considering each one elected who should receive 25 per cent of the vote, in combination with the plan of giving each representative a weight proportionate to the vote he had received, would make the selection of the party representative for the various electoral areas quite perfectly representative of the desires of the party voters.

If it should not be considered desirable to place the proposal of state candidates in the hands of a body two removes from the voters, as suggested above, it would be altogether possible to have the party representatives ballot in their respective assembly districts for this purpose and then canvass the votes.

The reason for allowing persons any-

where in the state to sign petitions for party representatives and for proposing candidates to the party representatives, and also for independently designating candidates for the primary, is to permit the development and recognition of party leadership. This will enable a group at little expense to take the party opinion on its leadership. For example, there could easily be a La Follette slate of party representatives and an opposing slate, say Lenroot's, or, in New York City, a Murphy slate and a Hines slate. The printing of the five petitioners' names on the ballot for party representative transforms the choice from what must often prove an insignificant, and unknown person, to the choice of an agent of a well-known party leader. The voter will be much less in the dark. He will be answering the question whether he wishes Boies Penrose or one of the Vares to propose to him later a slate of candidates for approval. Of course there is no guarantee that the real backers of a slate will make themselves known, but any backers who can count on popular support will do so. The danger will be that slate makers will put forward their agents under other sponsorship or endorsement. Only the usual means of publicity can prevent this, should it be attempted.

III. OBJECTIONS TO THE ABOVE PROPOSAL AND DEFENSE OF THE DIRECT PRIMARY

A number of the committee believe that the plan put forward above would prove harmful in practice and that it is wrong in theory.

Although the direct primary has not solved all our political difficulties (its wisest supporters have never claimed that it would) it has worked as satisfactorily as other features of our elec-

tion system. The long ballot which still survives so generally makes the voter's task a complicated and heavy burden. The real difficulty is the apathy of the voter which is directly encouraged by the long ballot. Only by means of a properly shortened ballot can the voter be interested sufficiently to inform himself on the candidates and to exert a deliberate and intelligent choice of candidates. In view of the voters' indifference towards the final election the direct primary has worked very well. Under a short ballot it will work satisfactorily.

The practical operation of the scheme suggested would be very unfortunate. Only at rare intervals when a strong insurgent movement had developed would there be any primary at all. The whole idea of the scheme is to discourage independent political action. The relatively independent party members would have to accept the onus of the expense and trouble of a primary. This disadvantage would work to the advantage of the entrenched party machine. Under this system the direct primary would tend to disappear entirely.

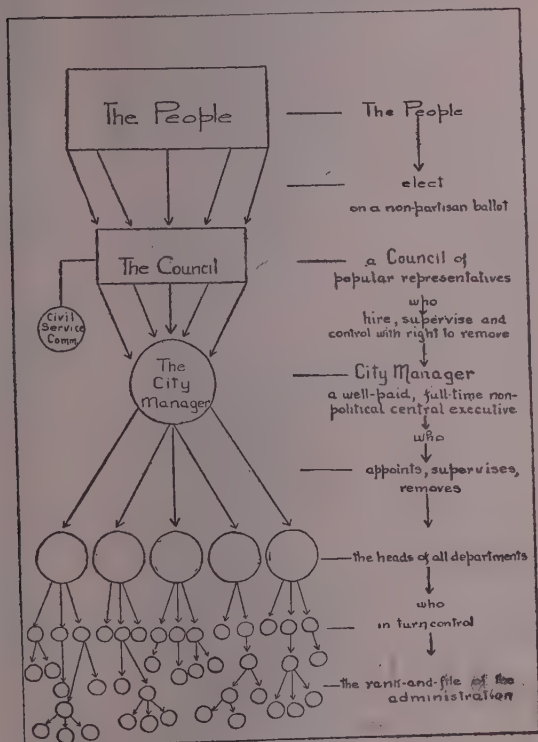
The party representatives would surely be nominated by a clique, which means that the party candidates would be nominated by a clique. The party representatives would unquestionably be regulars of the regular. Nobody else would want the position, just as nobody but the regulars to-day seek obscure offices. Proper boss technique would require that these representatives be controlled and no stone would be left unturned to see that they were safe men from the point of view of the bosses.

Under the old convention scheme a responsible private citizen might find time to attend a single convention, but nobody but a professional politician would want to be a member of



The Story of the City-Manager Plan

*The most democratic form
of municipal government*



A Typical Story.

In 1920 Dubuque, Ia., adopted the city-manager plan and elected on its first council a banker, a union labor man, a lumberman, a manufacturer and a physician. Labor led the fight for the adoption of the plan, feeling that under this plan its representatives would not become white-collar job-holders at city hall but would remain workingmen among their fellows, for members of the council under this plan give only the time needed for weekly meetings and continue their private careers. The same fact enabled the banker, the lumberman, the manufacturer and the physician to serve.

The council hired as city manager the experienced manager of Springfield, O., who had previously been manager of Niagara Falls, and, before that, of Cadillac, Mich.

This city manager came to Dubuque at a salary of \$8,400, and within the first ten days, by eliminating needless positions, he saved the city \$20,000 net.

Nov. 12, 1920.—Organized labor, being responsible for the present form of government in a large measure, is very well pleased with the progress and method of application of the manager plan.

Dubuque Trades and Labor Congress.

ED. SCHUMPF, *President.*

S. N. KRAHL, *Secretary.*

The Story of the City-Manager Plan

DURING the last ten years, 140 American cities and towns have changed their municipal charters and adopted the city-manager form of government (diagrammed on the front page).

This plan has aroused wide attention and the results are already so striking that city managers are being seriously advocated in such cities as Chicago, Cleveland and Kansas City.

The development of city managership as a new profession is well under way. Thirty-seven times, men who did well as managers of small cities have been called to larger cities at increased salaries. Of these managers, several have gained promotion twice and three are now in their fourth city;—for instance, Mr. E. A. Beck started in 1914 as manager under ordinance powers in Edgeworth-Sewickley, Pa., won promotion to Goldsboro, N. C., thence to Auburn, Me., and finally to Lynchburg, Va., where he is now, each step in the ascent involving larger salary and opportunity. When a new managership is created, or an old one vacated, the successful managers of smaller cities are usually the candidates who receive first con-

sideration. Over half of the cities have chosen their manager from out of town. The managers have had conventions for interchange of technical experience every year since 1914.

How It All Started.

In 1908 the Mayor and Council of Staunton, Va., in disgust over the inefficiency of government by councilmanic committees, hired Mr. C. E. Ashburner and passed an ordinance delegating to him all administrative detail and responsibility, giving him the title of "general manager." He made good and became somewhat famous for his novel title. (Since then Staunton has changed over from the make-shift ordinance arrangement to the real city manager plan.)

In the fall of 1910 Lockport, N. Y., was looking for a chance to get aboard the commission government movement, which was then sweeping over the country. The Lockport Board of Trade accordingly had to prepare legislation and proceeded to improve on the regular commission plan by combining its single-elective-board feature with the Staunton idea of an appointive manager. Lockport did not succeed in getting its bill passed by the legislature, but the "Lockport plan" was talked about all over the country.

In the summer of 1912, Sumter, S. C., a city of 8,000 inhabitants, adopted a new charter

embodying the Lockport idea and began operating under the new system early in the following year. This was the first city therefore to have the city-manager system. Two neighboring towns, Hickory and Morganton, N. C., copied Sumter immediately.

Dayton, O., had been through a long siege of wasteful, inefficient administration headed by spoils politicians. When the charter commission had thoroughly investigated all the prevailing and proposed types of city government, they concluded that Sumter had the best on the market. Then came the big Dayton flood of 1913, and the incapacity of the old government was emphasized anew. When things became normal again, the people adopted the new charter by a big majority.

Springfield, O., took similar action a few weeks later, the councils of both Springfield and Dayton taking office in January, 1914. Eleven other towns, small cities in Texas and Michigan also installed the plan that year. Since then, an increasing number of cities have adopted it every year, the 1920 list of accretions being by far the largest. (The full list is printed on pages 28-30.) The pressure on the legislatures became so widespread that twelve states—Massachusetts, New York, Virginia, Ohio, Oklahoma, Kansas, Idaho, Montana, North Dakota, North Carolina,

Wisconsin and Louisiana—have passed statewide laws permitting their cities by a simple referendum procedure to adopt the city manager plan.

Some Typical Results.

The city which first made the commission-manager plan famous is Dayton, O. When the first Dayton commissioners took office in 1914 they realized that the success of the new government depended largely upon the personality and equipment of the man whom they would select to fill the City Managership. The job was offered to Colonel Goethals, the builder of the Panama Canal, at \$25,000 a year. He declined. The commission then discovered H. M. Waite, the city engineer of Cincinnati, and right hand man of young Mayor Hunt, whose brilliant reform administration there was just closing. Waite had had a long and important engineering experience. He refused an offer of \$15,000 a year from a private corporation and took the Dayton managership at \$12,500.

During the next seven years the new government reduced the death rate and infant mortality; inaugurated free nursing, medical service and clinics, and extended food inspection; passed pasteurization ordinance; eliminated seven thousand dry vaults; substituted correction farm for work house; abolished prison contract labor; established parole system; enlarged Summer and Winter recreation program; supervised over five thousand vacant lot, home, school, and boys' and girls' gardens,

Is the Plan a Success?

1. No city which has tried this plan has gone back to the old way.
2. The plan spreads fastest in regions which know most about it. For example, it was adopted in Dayton in 1913 and has spread rapidly over Ohio and now twelve cities of that state have it. It got an early start in three small cities in Michigan in 1914 and now twenty-four places all over Michigan have adopted it. Likewise in Texas (seventeen cities) and in Virginia, where it governs one-fifth of the population of the state.
3. Numerous investigations, not always friendly at the start, have been made, and the reports have been invariably favorable.
4. Four out of every five new charters now follow the city manager plan.
5. The "Model Charter," drafted for the National Municipal League by an eminent and well-informed committee including A. Lawrence Lowell, President of Harvard, is a city manager charter.
6. Political scientists without exception consider it the best form, and the college political science courses teach it as accepted doctrine.

furnishing free seed ; increased park area from twenty to five hundred and forty-one acres ; increased public charities ; inaugurated free legal aid bureau handling one thousand cases a year ; eliminated eleven loan shark companies ; operated free employment bureau for women ; reorganized police and fire departments ; established training schools, and members incorporated an educational society ; organized crime prevention bureau and juvenile police ; employed police women ; abolished segregated district ; motorized all fire apparatus ; passed building code and provided inspection of buildings, sanitation and smoke prevention ; established eight-hour day for all city labor ; constructed self-supporting garbage disposal plant ; bought water supply and lands for \$67,000 as against an earlier bid four times as high and gave abundant supply for the first time ; operated a municipal garage ; saved several hundred thousand dollars per year to gas consumers by securing universal natural gas at 34c instead of artificial gas at 85c ; contracted for better street lighting at lower rates despite modern costs ; provided adequate budget procedure ; central purchasing ; central billing ; reduced floating debt from \$125,000 to \$50,000 first year ; put civil service on honest basis ; provided annual audit of accounts ; publicity on all city matters ; appointed city plan commission and numerous other citizen advisory boards ; fostered a civic music league ; published 35,000 annual reports, annually distributing same to all homes.

Norfolk, Va., (pop. 115,777) had doubled its population suddenly during the war yet

the new government, dating from September, 1918, reduced the inherited deficit \$2,000,000. added \$1,500,000 of public improvements, made the police and fire departments the best paid in the country, established a juvenile court, employed visiting nurses, opened free medical and dental clinics, and established a city hospital. Through cooperation between the city-planning commission and the citizens, a street extension project which would ordinarily have cost the city \$250,000, was completed for \$20,000. A 50-acre water frontage worth \$750,000 was acquired for \$250,000. Fourteen new playgrounds were opened and recreation developed for adults, a municipal tennis tournament, for instance. Infant mortality was radically reduced.

Wheeling, W. V., (pop. 54,322) adopted the plan in 1917 and when the first manager died in 1919, this was what they said of his regime: Raised all wages of all city employees. Saved \$12,000 by combining jobs. Motorized the fire department. Wiped out the red light district and gambling. Gave city a new electric light system without extra cost. Negotiated new contracts that saved the city \$9,500 on gas and \$20,000 on electricity per year. Made the traction company pay half

"The city manager plan of government has been tried and has been found to have the advantage of simplicity and directness of responsibility."—*From resolution of Pennsylvania Chamber of Commerce, 1920, urging a law permitting Pennsylvania cities to adopt this plan.*

the cost of two new bridges. Settled garbage problem. Discovered old government had signed away city's rights in a telephone merger, started suit and recovered cash and privileges worth \$110,000. Sold old city gas plant to good advantage. Defeated street railroad fare increase by proving over-valuation.

Kalamazoo, Mich., (pop. 48,487). The new government found \$2,000,000 more real estate values by equalization and \$82,500 of property that had escaped taxation. Established a budget and lived within it. Cleared off inherited deficit of \$82,000. Centralized purchasing. Saved the people \$100,000 annually by earning better fire insurance rate. Established venereal disease clinics. Sold coal from city

A Labor Resolution.

From the *Wheeling (W. Va.) Register*, Sept. 13, 1920.

"At a four-hour session The Ohio Valley Trades and Labor Assembly went on record yesterday at the semi-monthly meeting in endorsing the commission-manager form of government, as it has been operative in this city for the past several years. Action as taken by the assembly was prompted by a communication received from the municipal officials of Lorain, Ohio, asking labor's opinion of such, after having been tried out here. The principal reason that the manager form of government was sanctioned by the assembly is that it eliminates politics in the selection of the officials to conduct the affairs of the city."

yard at cost. United private and city nursing under full-time city physician. Enlarged the parks 30 acres. Made the government more understandable by a municipal exhibit, by a bulletin periodically distributed to every home and by a readable annual report.

Alameda, Cal., (pop. 28,806). Adopted modern zoning ordinance excluding business from residential areas. Enlarged parks. Cleaned streets by direct labor at one-third of the old contract price. Now cleans principal streets twice a day instead of three times a week. Makes a profit on garbage. In 1919 carried through street construction at 10 per cent less per mile than the old government did at pre-war prices.

Waltham, Mass., (pop. 30,891). Although labor went up 54% and materials 82%, the tax rate went up only 8% in the years from 1917 to 1919. Combined service of water and engineering departments, saving salaries and increasing efficiency. Avoided \$300,000 expenditure for new water supply by stopping leaks and waste of 33%. Central purchase and

A Labor Editor Who Knows.

E. A. Nunan, editor of the *Labor Review*, Dayton, published by and for organized labor.

"From the standpoint of the laboring man no objection can be voiced to the commission-manager form of government. In fact, our experience in Dayton has shown the system to be satisfactory in every respect; not meaning that labor receives any special consideration, but it does receive all that it asks—an even break."

cash discounts. Community street dances and free movies.

St. Augustine, Fla., (pop. 6,192). Paid off inherited floating debt of \$37,000, and put \$16,000 into a sinking fund on water bonds. Adopted full instead of quarter valuation. Modernized the accounting system which has since been widely copied. Crime practically eliminated. Weekly street dances. Concerts, bowling greens, quoit pitching and other recreations established.

Cartersville, Ga., (pop. 5,810). Council under this plan has now twice been re-elected without contest or a single dissenting vote!

Griffin, Ga., (pop. 8,240). Saved \$43,000 the first year while improving every department. Did more street work in one year than in any previous five years.

Sandusky, O., (pop. 22,897). Since this plan took effect reduced bonded debt \$230,000 and paid off \$25,000 of floating debt. The 1919 operating expenses, despite ascending wages and materials, were less than under old plan in 1914 and 1915. Saved 180,000,000 gallons of water leakage.

Ashtabula, O., (pop. 22,082). In the recent period when costs increased 50%, lived within its income from the old tax rate. Municipal ownership of street car line voted.

Grand Rapids, Mich., (pop. 137,634). All sidewalks in city brought up to standard. Sewage problem solved. The city has assumed care of all destitute families. School dentist and medical inspector work extended. Large public works carried through effectively.

Jackson, Mich., (pop. 48,374). All public works planned for fifty years of growth on basis of complete topographical survey. Public health nurses visit every new baby, rich or poor. Seven clinics. Pre-natal clinic has reduced infant mortality. Restaurants rated for cleanliness. In coal shortage, city bought abandoned coal mine in neighborhood, pumped it out, operated it successfully and profitably till shortage was relieved, then leased the mine at a profit.

Sault Ste. Marie, Mich., (pop. 12,096) saved \$67,000 in two years. Conducts municipal entertainments, concerts and lectures.

Manistee, Mich., (pop. 9,690). New government found \$80,000 authorized for new trunk sewer, but spent \$1,200 cleaning tons of debris from old sewer which was then found adequate.

Tyler, Texas, (pop. 12,085). For the first time in many years operated without a deficit.

Coalgate, Okla., (pop. 4,000). Found departments badly run down, water supply so meagre that it was only available for household use six hours a day. Street lights "refused to burn without constant coaxing, sewer system was stopped up in several places and disposal plant was out of business."—All of which was speedily corrected.

San Jose, Cal., (pop. 39,604) ran in 1919 with less expenditures than 1916 despite doubled costs. Fire loss only 50c per capita. Finances in order. Surplus in the city treasury.

Alhambra, Cal., (pop. 10,000). Purchased the water system and ran it for \$14,000 a year less than the private company did.

Auburn, Me., (pop. 16,985). First year in over twenty years which closed without a deficit or a floating debt.

Watertown, N. Y., (pop. 31,263). New government January, 1920, found \$75,000 of unpaid accounts, some of them five years old; 3,000,000 gallons of water, enough to supply the city, wasted daily; decentralized and questionable purchasing and bookkeeping; ridiculous red tape; police department 50% undermanned; fire department unduly costly;—all of which problems are being vigorously and effectively corrected by the experienced manager, Mr. Bingham, formerly manager of Waltham and Norwood, Mass.

Wichita, Kans., (pop. 72,128). New government reelected after two years with slight contest: first time any administration had unanimous press support. Built sewer with direct labor for \$214,000 when lowest con-

W. G. Lee, National President, Brotherhood of Railway Trainmen, says:

"I have personally investigated how the city manager plan has worked out in Dayton. I have asked railroad men about it. I don't see how any workingman can oppose the plan after investigating it. . . .

"I see nothing undemocratic in having the city manager selected by the commissioners. A city manager doesn't rule anybody. He doesn't pass any laws. He doesn't determine any public policies. . . .

"I'm for the city manager plan because it makes possible the elimination of politics from public business, and that means better government and lower taxes. . . .

"I should like to see Cleveland adopt the city manager plan."

tractors' bid was \$316,000. Began long-needed flood prevention work. Municipal entertainments, admission 10 to 50c, with grand opera singers, etc. Venereal disease clinic started. Tax levy not increased despite modern costs.

Hays, Kans., (pop. 2,339). Old government had never lived within its income. New government increased revenue of electric plant 134% while decreasing cost of operation 11%. Increased water receipts 116% while cost decreased 71%. Overcame deficit of \$22,000. Modern budget and no deficits.

Webster City, Iowa., (pop. 6,000) saved \$36,000 a year since adoption of the manager plan.

Phoenix, Ariz., (pop. 29,053) despite rapid increase in costs, the valuation and tax levy were not increased in 1919.

These are instances. So many such accounts are in evidence that the cumulative mass of them is overwhelming. That does not mean that there are no exceptions. There are and always will be. In a few of the towns the change in the form of government has not altered the prevailing complacent stagnation and the improvement has been slight. There have been a few odd cases where the people have elected the old political crowd to the Council and the Council has either chosen a local chronic job-holder as manager or has made miserable the life of an imported experienced man by petty nagging and cheap politics, but even in these cases there has been

a cold air that blew in with the Council's clear-cut responsibility for all results and there has been an unexpected amount of progress. In some towns the business crowd has dominated the new government, in others it has been labor.

The city managers are not miraculous experts; the great majority of them are hard-working full-time-and-then-some practical men with alluring chances of promotion ahead of them if they make good and a rather unusual opportunity to do it. Many a mayor has wished he had their freedom from red tape, and at the annual conventions of the City Managers' Association when anecdotes are told of the ineptitudes and follies of the older regimes, it is often observed and freely admitted that the officers of the old-style tangle-foot governments never had the managers' chances to give good administration.

Labor and Civil Service.

One of the favorite political manoeuvres to defeat city manager charters is to stir up the municipal employees by the assertion that they will lose their civil service protection and become subject to the whim of the new manager who will discharge them all including the uniformed fire and police forces. In no manager-city has any thing of this sort ever transpired. On the contrary it happens that the record of

the manager cities in dealing with labor and the civil service is particularly good. They have been quick to adopt the eight-hour day and to advance the rates of pay. Promotions have been by merit and as to most of the cities it is fair to claim that politics has disappeared from the administrative personnel. These results are natural enough in a government freed from red tape and headed by an executive who can work almost as freely as a private business executive. Just as it is the enlightened progressive business house which treats its employees generously and gets, in return, high-grade service and low labor turnover, so the manager cities are the ones which have contrived to adjust their budgets most promptly in order to treat their workers right.

The Underlying Principle.

The reason why the manager plan averages so markedly higher in quality of government is because it is more democratic; *i. e.*, more sensitive and obedient to public opinion.

Two unusual basic features explain this superiority in true democracy, namely:

1. The "Short Ballot" principle.
2. Unification of powers.

(1) *The "Short Ballot" principle* is the doctrine that only a few offices should ever be scheduled to be filled by election at any one

time so as to permit adequate and unconfused popular examination of the candidates. In other democratic countries the plan of government usually calls on the people to fill just one single office on a given day, *e. g.*, member of Parliament or member of a city council from a ward. We really hold not *an* election but ten, twenty, even fifty, elections in a single election day! Our complex American ballots frequently deserve to be labelled: "For politicians only, not for the people." The slogan of the Short Ballot movement runs "The long ballot is the politicians' ballot; the short ballot is the people's ballot."

The commission manager charters respect this Short Ballot principle. It would be a violation of principle if the council were made so large that the typical voter was called upon to vote for more than five officers simultaneously. When the duty of making more than five selections at any one time is thrust upon the voter, the voter ceases to make an individual choice for every office and begins to fall back upon ready-made tickets prepared for him—

From *Labor News*, Watertown. Editorial, May, 1920:

"The Labor News helped to elect the new city administration, and we never have regretted it. . . We predict confidently that the new government will win an unshakable hold upon the esteem of our citizens."

by corruptible cliques or machines. Obviously, when the ballot thus requires more choices than his majesty, the voter, cares to remember, power gravitates away from the voters into the hands of the ticket-makers (politicians) who thus acquire opportunities which are open to great abuse. But when politics is made clear, simple and understandable by a very short ballot, the voter can protect himself—and usually he will.

In most of the cities which have thus far adopted the plan, the number of councilmen is five. In the larger cities the number can well be more than five, providing, however, that terms expire in rotation so that not too many would be chosen at any one election, or provided that the ballot, as the voter sees it, is shortened in some other way, as by dividing the city into wards, each of them electing a portion of the Council.*

(2) "*Unification of powers*" (the other basic merit of the manager plan) means the reposing of all power in a single place—the Council. This gives to the whole mechanism the single controlling composite mind which is essential to the success of any organism. (The mayor-and-council plan, for example, lacks unification of powers and permits dead-

*For a full discussion of the far-reaching philosophy of the Short Ballot, see "*Short Ballot Principles*" published by Houghton Mifflin Co., or the pamphlets of The Short Ballot Organization, New York.

locks and "passing the buck," since the mayor and the council are prevented by the charter from getting together and composing their differences by so simple an expedient as the taking of a joint vote.) It would be a violation of the principles of the city-manager plan, for instance, to give to a separate mayor the power to veto the acts of the council. It would then be a two-headed city instead of a one-headed city.

It is easier for the people to control a unified government than a ramshackle one. For example, the council in the manager plan has power to raise the taxes and hence has power to yield to a public demand for better service; but at the same time, it has power to reduce service and yield to a public demand for low taxes. It cannot say in the first case—"we haven't the money" nor in the second case—"We can't make the administration economical." It must always accept the complete responsibility, as there is no one else on whom blame can be thrust.

Advantages of a City Manager.

The advantages of having a city manager are obvious to any business man. For counsel, many minds are needed; for execution, a single directing head is required. Universal business practice demonstrates this as does also the superior success which we have had with

our typical public school systems where a school board does all its work through a hired superintendent.

It is essential to the plan that the city manager shall be appointive. Even the freak feature of one city-manager charter, which subjects the manager to direct recall by the people is damaging to the principle involved, since it diverts responsibility from the council. He must be completely the servant of the council, else it cannot fairly be forced to take responsibility for his acts. He must in no way be independent of it.

Making it possible to hire the city manager from out of town not only has been helpful in getting trained service, but is highly important to the growing profession of city management. If a city manager could not look forward to similar positions elsewhere in case he is displaced or outgrows his town, a powerful incentive toward the development of personal efficiency would be lost. The fact that the city manager is not necessarily involved in local politics, or in disputes on matters of general policy, permits comparative permanence in the office of the chief administrator of the city, a most important thing to the development of a smoothly running mechanism. In all plans involving elective executives long tenures are rare. To rid us of the amateur and transient

executives which our present mayors are, and to facilitate the substitution of experienced executives in municipal administration, is enough in itself to justify the coming of the city-manager plan.

For the first time the people have gotten their own corporation into such shape that it can hold its own with private corporations in competition for competent executive talent, providing these attractive conditions: tenure for as long as the man "makes good," chance for advancement and professional reputation and a chance to achieve things by familiar straightforward unincumbered business methods.

Democracy of the Plan.

A generation ago reformers exercised their wits to devise complications of governmental machinery in a vain endeavor to prevent bad government. Thereby they made government so complex and roundabout that no one but professional politicians could operate it and the rank and file of the citizenship were left almost helpless spectators. Government by a compact ruling class variously called "the poli-

"I regard the commission-manager plan of municipal government as a marked advance over any plan hitherto tried in this country, from the standpoint of both efficiency and democracy."—*Woodrow Wilson*.

ticians," "the ring," "the machine," etc., was the result. But such government by politicians is not democracy; it is oligarchy. The old idea was intended to be democratic but it didn't "democ!"

To-day the winning principle is to simplify and clarify the processes of government so that everybody can and will understand and take part effectively without special attention or effort. Politics under the manager plan becomes so primitively bare and simple that there is nothing for a politician to be a specialist in. Every citizen can and does pick out his own favorite five candidates without the aid of a party label or ticket and without letting interested persons guide his pencil for him. There is no one for the candidate to appeal to but the voters; the old intermediary "machine" with its ready-made ticket has no function. The busy ordinary non-political citizen who counts for so little in the old politics, finds himself exercising his full share of control in the new plan.

That is democracy and it explains why the plan works better. For the old government obeyed a party machine which was wide open to the intrusion of new members whose motives might be corrupt whereas the new government connects direct with the masses who are usually ready to applaud and reward those

who serve them well, and, who at any rate are the best base to build upon.

Manager charters are usually primitively simple and short. They safely extend municipal powers in the most free-handed way. More things are done by flexible administrative rulings, and less and less by wordy, inelastic ordinances. The corporation counsels have little to do in digging up ancient ordinances or interpreting or stretching the charter. Red tape simply disappears and actions that once took weeks are attended to in a few minutes.

The Most Democratic Plan.

The first-thought objection to the commission-manager plan is that it is undemocratic to make its most important single official appointive instead of "directly responsible to the people by election." Democracy, however, consists in controlling public officers, not necessarily in electing them, and that way is most democratic which gives the people the surest control. The most effective way for the people to get a firm grip on the neck of the governmental organization is by sending a representative group of citizens down to city hall to see what the executive is doing, with power to fire him and get another any day of the week if he is unsatisfactory or insubordinate. Compared with that method, direct election and recall are

crude, clumsy, insufficient and relatively undemocratic.

Furthermore, a capacity in government for vigorous effective execution of policies is essential to true democracy. A policy desired by the people and obediently voted for by their representatives may yet be defeated by jelly-fish inefficiency in execution. Administration by a trained manager is therefore more democratic, (i. e., obedient) than by Tom, Dick or Harry.

This new government is not a cure-all. It is capable of going in the wrong direction like any other human organization. A city charter is like an automobile—nothing mechanical can be devised that will keep the owner from driving it up the wrong fork of the road. The makers must strive to make the car infallibly obedient to the steering-wheel and completely under the driver's control. The city-manager automobile is of all kinds the one that is least able to defy public sentiment or escape popular control. It is the best make and the easiest for the general public to drive without the help of politician chauffeurs.

"Basing my opinion on what I have been able to gather since I arrived in Norfolk, I should say that the city manager plan is working out successfully and well here. I am very much interested . . ."

J. HAMPTON MOORE,
Mayor of Philadelphia (1920).

STANDARD CHARTER DETAILS.

The city-manager plan, (or council-manager, or commission-manager plan,) provides for a single elective governing board of popular representatives usually called a "council." No other elective officers. The title of Mayor is often given to the chairman of the council, but he has no veto or separate administrative powers. The council receives nominal salaries, or none, and the members give only their spare time to municipal work, and thus are left free to continue their private careers without interruption.

Their functions are to hire and supervise an appointive chief administrator, the city manager, who holds office at their pleasure; also to pass ordinances and to contribute to the city government the amateur and representative element.

The city manager, as chief executive, appoints, directs and can remove the rest of the administrative staff, subject to the usual civil service restrictions. He is not necessarily or usually a local resident. Supposedly he is an expert in matters of municipal administration. In small cities he is frequently a practical civil engineer, thereby making a separate city engineer unnecessary. In large cities broad executive experience is, of course, a major requirement. The city manager's salary is the largest in the city's service.

A logical exception to the appointive power of the city manager is a civil service commission appointive directly by the council.

Non-partisan ballot. All nominations are made by petition and appear on the ballot at

the primary election in alphabetical order or in an order determined by lot or by rotation, without party labels. The highest names in the primary election go on the ballot at a final election two or three weeks later. If a political party endorses a candidate, the action is apt to be denounced as contrary to the spirit and intent of the charter as adopted by the people and the partisan endorsement becomes an unwelcome handicap to the candidate. Under both the old commission plan and the manager plan, the non-partisan election feature works exceedingly well.

Several cities combine the two elections into one by various methods of which the Hare plan of proportional representation* used in Ashtabula, O., and Sacramento, Cal., is considered the most promising.

Initiative, Referendum and Recall. Nearly all the city-manager charters include these much-discussed features, but as yet they have been little used in any of these cities. In cities, at least, these devices do not seem to have proved to be as important as their supporters assert nor so dangerous as their opponents fear. The city-manager government is so promptly responsive to public opinion that "the gun behind the door" stays there.

*Literature on this subject is obtainable free from the American Proportional Representation League, Philadelphia.

"It is my belief that the city manager form of government is the true way out for the American cities."

OTTO KAHN,
New York Banker (1920).

141 CITY-MANAGER MUNICIPALITIES CORRECTED TO JAN. 1, 1921

STATE	CITY	POP.	IN EFFECT	STATE	CITY	POP.	IN EFFECT
Ariz.	PHOENIX	29,053	Apr. 1914	Iowa	ROME	13,252	Apr. 1919
Ark.	HOT SPRINGS	14,000	Apr. 1917	Iowa	DUBUQUE	39,141	June 1920
Cal.	ALAMEDA	28,806	May 1917	Kans.	Webster City	6,000	Oct. 1916
	ALHAMBRA	10,000	July 1915		EL DORADO	10,995	July 1917
	BAKERSFIELD	18,638	Apr. 1915		Hays	3,300	May 1919
	PASADENA	45,334	May 1921		McCracken	1,000	May 1919
	SACRAMENTO	70,000	June 1921	Meine	WICHITA	72,128	Apr. 1917
	SAN JOSE	39,604	July 1916	Mass.	AUBURN	7,933	Apr. 1921
	SANTA BARBARA	19,441	Jan. 1918		Mansfield	16,985	Jan. 1918
Colo.	BOULDER	10,989	Jan. 1918		Middleboro	6,255	Feb. 1921
	COLORADO SPRGS.	29,572	Apr. 1921		NORWOOD	8,500	Jan. 1921
	Durango	5,300	Mar. 1915		WALTHAM	12,627	Jan. 1915
	Montrose	3,581	Feb. 1914	Mich.	Albion	30,891	Jan. 1918
Conn.	W. Hartford	8,854	Nov. 1920		Alma	8,354	Jan. 1918
	New Smyrna	3,000	Jan. 1921		ALPENA	7,542	May 1919
Fla.	Ocala	5,610	Feb. 1918		BAY CITY	11,101	Apr. 1916
	St. Augustine	6,192	July 1915		Big Rapids	47,554	Apr. 1921
	Sanford	5,588	Jan. 1920		Birmingham	5,100	Apr. 1914
	Tallahassee	5,637	Feb. 1920		Cadillac	3,694	Apr. 1918
	TAMPA	51,252	Jan. 1921		Crystal Falls	9,734	Mar. 1914
	W. Palm Beach	8,659	Dec. 1919		Grand Haven	3,394	Apr. 1918
Ga.	BRUNSWICK	14,413	Jan. 1921		GRAND RAPIDS	7,224	Apr. 1915
	Cartersville	5,810	Aug. 1917		Grosse Pte. Shores	137,634	Mar. 1917
	Decatur	6,150	Jan. 1921		JACKSON	1,200	June 1916
	Griffin	8,240	Dec. 1918		KALAMAZOO	48,374	Jan. 1915
						48,487	June 1913

STATE	CITY	IN POP.	EFFECT
	Lapeer	4,500	May 1919
	Manistee	9,690	May 1914
	MUSKEGON	36,570	Jan. 1920
	Osseo	4,000	May 1918
	Petoskey	5,064	Apr. 1916
	Plymouth	2,500	Dec. 1917
	PONTIAC	34,273	Nov. 1920
	Portland	2,747	Jan. 1919
	Royal Oak	6,000	May 1918
	St. Johns	4,035	Aug. 1918
	SAULT STE. MARIE	12,096	Dec. 1917
	Three Rivers	5,209	Apr. 1918
Minn.	Anoka	4,287	Apr. 1914
	Morris	3,500	Jan. 1914
N. Mex.	ALBUQUERQUE	15,157	Jan. 1918
N. Y.	AUBURN	36,142	Jan. 1920
	NEWBURGH	30,272	Jan. 1916
	NIAGARA FALLS	50,760	Jan. 1916
	Sherrill	1,500	June 1916
	WATERTOWN	31,263	Jan. 1920
N. C.	Elizabeth City	8,925	Apr. 1915
	GASTONIA	12,871	Aug. 1919
	GOLDSBORO	11,296	July 1917

STATE	CITY	IN POP.	EFFECT
	Hickory	5,076	May 1913
	HIGH POINT	14,302	May 1915
	Morganton	2,867	May 1913
	Thomasville	5,676	May 1915
Ohio	AKRON	208,435	Jan. 1920
	ASHTABULA	22,082	Jan. 1916
	DAYTON	152,559	Jan. 1914
	E. CLEVELAND	27,292	Jan. 1918
	Gallipolis	6,070	Jan. 1918
	LIMA	43,900	Jan. 1922
	Painesville	6,886	Jan. 1920
	SANDUSKY	22,897	Jan. 1916
	S. Charleston	1,500	Jan. 1918
	SPRINGFIELD	60,840	Jan. 1914
	Westerville	3,500	Jan. 1918
	Xenia	9,110	Jan. 1918
Okla.	Cherokee	3,100	Oct. 1920
	Coalgate	4,000	July 1914
	Collinsville	3,500	Feb. 1914
	Duncan	3,463	Nov. 1920
	Madill	1,760	Nov. 1917
	Mangum	3,405	Nov. 1914
	McALESTER	12,095	Nov. 1919
	MUSKOGEE	30,277	Apr. 1920

STATE	CITY	1920 POP.	IN EFFECT	STATE	CITY	1920 POP.	IN EFFECT
	Norman	5,004	Sept. 1919		SHERMAN	15,031	Apr. 1915
	Nowata	8,000	May 1920		Stamford	3,704	June 1918
	Salisaw	3,000	Nov. 1919		Taylor	5,965	Apr. 1914
	Walters	3,600	Sept. 1919		Terrell	8,349	Aug. 1919
Oregon	LaGrande	6,913	Oct. 1913		TYLER	12,085	Apr. 1915
S. C.	Beaufort	3,700	May 1915	Virginia	Yoakum	7,500	Apr. 1915
	Rock Hill	8,809	Feb. 1915		Blackstone	2,000	June 1914
	Sumter	9,508	Jan. 1913		Bristol	6,720	Sept. 1919
Tenn.	Alcoa	3,358	July 1919		Hampton	7,000	Sept. 1920
	Kingsport	5,692	Mar. 1917		LYNCHBURG	30,071	Sept. 1920
	Murfreesboro	5,935	Dec. 1913		NEWPORT NEWS	35,596	Oct. 1920
Texas	AMARILLO	15,494	Dec. 1913		NORFOLK	115,777	Sept. 1918
	BEAUMONT	40,422	Apr. 1920		Petersburg	81,002	Sept. 1920
	BROWNSVILLE	11,791	Jan. 1915		PORTSMOUTH	54,387	Jan. 1917
	Brownwood	8,225	Apr. 1916		Radford	4,627	Sept. 1920
	Bryan	6,295	May 1917		ROANOKE	50,842	Sept. 1918
	Denton	7,628	Apr. 1914		STAUNTON	10,617	Sept. 1920
	Eastland	9,368	Jan. 1919		Suffolk	9,123	Sept. 1919
	Lubbock	3,958	Apr. 1918	W. Va.	CHARLESTON	38,608	May 1915
	Lufkin	4,878	Apr. 1918		WHEELING	54,322	July 1917
	RANGER	16,285	May 1919		WESTMOUNT, P. Q.	14,579	Apr. 1913
	San Angelo	9,392	June 1916	Canada			

There are, in addition, about 60 towns, mostly in states where city manager charters are not yet legalized, which employ so-called city managers by ordinance and under various make-shift conditions. Only the towns which have adopted the plan by charter are listed above.

References.

"THE NEW MUNICIPAL PROGRAM," including text of the "*Model City Charter*," prepared by a Committee of the National Municipal League. The Model Charter is widely used by charter commissions. Its provisions are explained in chapters by members of the committee. Obtainable from National Municipal League, 261 Broadway, New York. 392 pgs. \$2.60 postpaid.

"CITY MANAGER IN DAYTON," by C. E. Rightor. An intensive study of the working of the plan in one city during six years by the director of the local Bureau of Municipal Research. 271 pgs. Macmillan & Co. \$3.25 postpaid.

"CITY MANAGERS' YEAR BOOK." The Proceedings of the Annual Conventions of the City Managers' Association. Progress reports from cities operating under manager plan; statistics and bibliography. H. G. Otis, Secretary, 1812 Tribune Building, New York. 50c. postpaid.

"SELECTED ARTICLES ON THE CITY MANAGER PLAN OF GOVERNMENT." E. C. Mabie, comp. 245 pgs. H. W. Wilson Co. \$1.25.

"NATIONAL MUNICIPAL REVIEW—the Magazine of Civics"—covers the city manager news systematically, with frequent articles dealing with the experience of the various cities. 50c per issue. \$5.00 per year. National Municipal League, 261 Broadway, New York.

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Established 1894. 2,800 Members.

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If you are interested in this kind of thing and would like to keep in touch with and help along the movement for the city manager plan and other good civic movements, too, such as city planning, zoning, county managers, budgets, short ballot, state administrative reorganizations, civil service reform, municipal home rule, election law reform, traction control, initiative, referendum and recall, etc, etc., you ought to join the National Municipal League, \$5.00 a year. Members receive the "National Municipal Review" each month. Sample copy free on request.

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III. MISCELLANEOUS. New York Architects Fear That Private Profit Will Not Solve Housing Problem; Journal of the Town Planning Institute of Canada; Ohio State Conference on City Planning, CHARLOTTE RUMBOLD.

OFFICE GOSSIP

American Civic Association and N. M. L. Begin a Trial Marriage.—The American Civic Association and the National Municipal League have this month joined hands in a trial compact. The REVIEW is to publish American Civic Association literature, while the members of the American Civic Association are hereafter to receive the REVIEW. League members will thus have the advantage of additional editorial resources while American Civic Association members will have access to our fields of information. The proposal as adopted at our annual business meeting in Indianapolis provides for a year of close co-operation and for a joint three-day meeting in 1921. At that time, if all goes well, complete consolidation will be considered.



Who Went to Our Annual Meeting at Indianapolis?—Certainly several reporters judging from the editorial publicity given Mr. Hughes' address by the press. Of those who registered, the members out-numbered the non-members by twelve. Among the members were our president, several vice presidents, a few of our council, and many active citizens. All had much to say (as usual) yet made good listeners when put to it. The freedom of speech of the group worked like yeast on the minds of several of the speakers, stirring up the depths of their thinking and bringing forth a rich yield—watch the REVIEW for the same.

Among the non-members were several mayors, city officials, public service commissioners, representatives of commercial, civic and housing associations, and up and coming citizens. They came in some instances from a goodly distance. Hon. C. Clarence Neslen, mayor of Salt Lake City, not then a member, should have the pilgrim's prize for non-members.



National Municipal Review to all City Managers.—Arrangements have been made whereby the NATIONAL MUNICIPAL REVIEW will be sent to all members and subscribers of the City Managers' Association for the year 1921. The city-manager department of the REVIEW will be conducted by the executive secretary of the Association as heretofore. At the annual meeting of the Association provision was made that any person, firm, or corporation may become a subscriber to the City Managers' Association by the payment of dues amounting to \$10.00 per year. These subscribers will be entitled to the year-books and monthly bulletins of the Association in addition to the NATIONAL MUNICIPAL REVIEW.



One Hundred and Thirteen of Our Thousand New Members Located During November.—They are a robust group made up of governors, mayors, city managers, city engineers and city departments; libraries, universities, civic and research associations, chambers of commerce and leagues of women voters; business men, bankers and alert citizens. The quality is A 1, the quantity could be improved upon. The September lists sent in by members helped in locating this group, the first of January has come (time for the turning of the new leaf) why not scribble off ten names and addresses of hopefuls on a leaf (new or old) and mail it to us.

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A NEW NAME FOR THE REVIEW

What Shall We Call the NATIONAL MUNICIPAL REVIEW? Ever since the League decided that municipal affairs could not be treated adequately without some attention to county and state government, it has been felt that the old name is not sufficiently descriptive. At the Cleveland meeting over a year ago, the council was given power to change the name of the magazine.

The New Name—Aye There's the Rub. In accordance with this action the council met to decide on a new name. Various proposals were thrown into the hat only to be rejected on examination. The majority present at the meeting were able to agree on "Civics," although it was recognized to be open to criticism. No one however could meet the challenge to suggest a better one. Some felt that we were taking the matter too seriously. One member reminded us that heaven and hell were names the appropriateness of which could be disputed, and that perhaps Adam was a bad name for the original sinner. Finally it was voted to submit "Civics" to the absent members of the council by a mail referendum and to invite the opinions of the associate editors and advisory editorial board. Final action was delegated to the executive committee which was to be guided by the results of the referendum.

"Civics" Voted Down: The vote on "Civics" was as follows:

Opposed
22

Favorable
20

Doubtful
8

Opinions differed radically. Some thought the proposal excellent, but as many or more were as thoroughly convinced that it was as poor a name as could be found. Several felt that it had too long been associated with an academic course of study and was "too reminiscent of a dry subject which we studied in high school because we had to." The executive committee in view of the expressed opposition to "Civics" voted that decision be postponed.

Suggestions Invited: The new name of our magazine must reflect the wishes of the members of the League. Now let us know what your wishes are. Do you favor any of the following which have been proposed: *American Civic Journal; Government; Civic Affairs; Public Affairs; National Civic Review; American Citizenship; Civic Progress; Review of Public Affairs?*

A new name seems inevitable as a reflection of the broadened work of the League during the past few years. Our interest and work in municipal government has not abated in the least but we have added to our program. We are growing in membership and face future difficulties with confidence. Will you, as a member of the N. M. L., send to the secretary a suggestion for a new name for our magazine? The council needs your advice before it can act.

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LEAGUE ACTIVITIES

State Administrative Consolidation Promoted.—Late in November we wrote all hold-over and incoming governors describing the movement for administrative reorganization. Our two supplements on the subject were enclosed and we invited further correspondence. At once replies began to come in and we saw that it was going to be one of the liveliest questions before state legislatures this winter. We followed this early in January with letters to the members of all legislatures in session. To those in the nine most promising states copies of our supplements were sent gratis. To all others it was offered on request. Again the response was positive. Similar letters went to the state leagues of women voters. We prepared a complete plan of reorganization for the governor of one state, which he is sending to the legislature with a special message.



Saving the Direct Primary.—This has been a hard winter on the direct primary in many states. With many, "getting back to normal" has meant a return to the old discredited nominating convention. We have been using reprints of REVIEW articles and by direct correspondence have been helping save the primary.



Our Model Charter in Action.—Every lead showing interest in a new charter is followed up by this office. Each prospective convert receives a copy of "The Story of the City Manager Plan" and a letter offering the resources of the League in a fight for a modern charter. During January we sent out 1,250 letters on this subject alone; 250 of these were in reply to special inquiries. Getting in touch with a city during the early period of the movement for charter revision enables us to bring our Model Charter to their attention in time. A number of organizations, as well as many city managers, are referring their inquiries regarding commission manager government to us. It keeps us busy, but we welcome inquiries.



New Members.—During January we added 239 new members to the League. This office secured 112 of these; the City Managers' Association brought us nine more and the American Civic Association swelled our ranks with 118 new co-operating members.

Mayor Barber of Joliet, Illinois, recently appointed city manager of Dayton, Ohio, accepted our challenge, asked for twelve membership cards, and within the month returned all twelve with accompanying checks and this statement, "Unfortunately I find myself short of time, otherwise I have no hesitancy in saying that in a community of our size I could easily have doubled the list. That being true of Joliet leads me to express the opinion that the same proposition may be worked out in any community in which we have members."

Mayor Barber thus challenges our members; he has thrown the gauntlet; will you take it up? We will have membership cards tied in packets of twelve ready to send you as arms for the combat; we merely await word from you.

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LEAGUE ACTIVITIES

Joint Conference On Counties and Small Towns.—The National Municipal League and the University of North Carolina are planning a joint conference on the problems of county and small town life to be held next autumn at Chapel Hill, North Carolina. The conference will be unique, because it will bring out the social problems of the small town and their relation to local government. For a number of years the university has been studying the various problems of small communities, and through the county study clubs has made valuable contributions to our knowledge of town and county government. Responsibility for the government and administration of counties and villages will be with the League. The university will supply that part of the program dealing with the distinctive social problems of small communities. The North Carolina Municipal Association will co-operate in the field of finance.

It is to be a three day session. A special appropriation is being sought from the state legislature. It will be a new sort of a conference on a fresh subject. Plan now to attend.



Further Promotion of State Administrative Reorganization.—Mr. A. E. Buck is now in Tennessee under our auspices consulting with the legislative committee there. He has been retained to draft a reorganization bill to be introduced when the legislature reconvenes later in the month. The plan of reorganization for the state of Arizona, which we prepared, has been submitted by the governor to the legislature. Washington has recently passed a civil administrative code reorganizing their government along approved lines.



"The Story of the City Manager Plan,"—the pamphlet mailed to all members with the February REVIEW, is available in quantities at \$5 per hundred. The type is always standing, and the pamphlet may be furnished with the imprint of any local committee or organization for use in charter campaigns or otherwise. We have distributed 17,000 of these booklets to date. The demand leads us to think they fill a real need.



A Field Secretary Added to Our Staff.—Mr. Walter J. Millard, field secretary of the American Proportional Representation League, is now giving part time to us, and is available for speeches or conferences on city-manager government.



Review Absorbs the Governmental Research Bulletin.—Arrangements have been completed with the officers of the Governmental Research Conference, whereby two pages of the REVIEW will be given monthly to the publication of their bulletin notes. We look forward to these notes as a rich yield in text.



Reviews Wanted.—January, February, April, June, July, 1920, January 1921. —It will be highly appreciated if members will mail to this office extra copies of these REVIEWS, as our supply is exhausted and we still have demands for them.

NATIONAL MUNICIPAL REVIEW

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LEAGUE ACTIVITIES

League Consulted in Recent State Legislation.—The optional city-manager law passed in Indiana was largely drafted by our charter consultant, Dr. A. R. Hatton, while the Wyoming bill, making city-manager government possible for cities in Wyoming, was submitted to us for criticism before its passage. These laws both permit cities to adopt the same form of city government as that advocated by our model city charter.

Twenty-one cities in Indiana have taken the first necessary steps preparatory to taking advantage of their optional city-manager law. By the time this magazine is in the hands of its readers other Indiana cities may have joined the following list:

Anderson	Goshen	New Albany
Bedford	Kokomo	Peru
Brazil	Logansport	Portland
Elkhart	Madison	Richmond
Evansville	Marion	Seymour
Frankfort	Muncie	South Bend
Gary	Tipton	Wabash

New Jersey Chapter Organized.—Senate bill 93 making possible manager government for New Jersey cities languished in committee; bid fair to die there. There was plenty of favorable sentiment throughout the state, but it was unorganized. Believing the time ripe for a New Jersey Chapter of the National Municipal League, the central office (under authorization by the Council) called a meeting of our New Jersey members and friends.

Senator Parry, author of the bill, was present to explain it and all present endorsed its principles. An executive committee was found with power to form a state-wide committee under the name of the New Jersey Chapter of the League. Mr. P. R. MacNeille of Summit was made chairman, while Mr. H. S. Buttenheim of Madison, Mr. R. W. Darnell of Phillipsburg, Mrs. M. S. Decker of Newark and Mr. Thomas R. Lill of East Orange constitute the remainder of the committee.

The secretary of the National Municipal League and Mr. P. R. MacNeille, chairman of the New Jersey Chapter, went to Trenton, saw the committee on boroughs and townships and succeeded in securing a hearing for the bill March 28. The New Jersey Chapter was well represented at the hearing, having about fifty members present, ten of whom spoke very ably in support of the bill. There was little opposition.

The same day 425 letters were sent out urging those interested and unable to attend the hearing to write or wire the committee on boroughs and townships urging the passage of the bill.

League Supplies Speakers in City-Manager Campaigns.—H. W. Dodds addressed a group in Woonsocket, Rhode Island, March 31, and another in Port Jervis, New York, April 12. Dr. A. R. Hatton was in Middletown, New York, April 6, in New Haven and Hartford, Connecticut, April 7 and 8, while Colonel Waite went to Utica, New York, April 20, and Mr. Dodds covered Brockton, Massachusetts, and Stamford, Connecticut, April 17 and 18.

The demand for speakers in city-manager campaigns grows from day to day; the demand goes hand in hand with the demand for the booklet, "The Story of the City Manager Plan." Thirty thousand of these have been printed since February 1, the last ten thousand being distributed during April. Muncie, Indiana, bought four thousand for publicity in their campaign.

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LEAGUE ACTIVITIES

Henry M. Waite, Our New President.—We take great pleasure in announcing that our council, at its annual meeting, unanimously elected Mr. Henry M. Waite to the presidency of the League.

Mr. Waite assumes the responsibilities of the office at the point where Mr. Charles E. Hughes found it necessary to relinquish his hold on account of public duties.

Mr. Waite has for years been a distinguished worker in the civic field. He was the first city manager of Dayton, Ohio, and is the dean of the profession. We offer him our fullest co-operation, and in this we know we are joined by every member, including the one in Mississippi and the four in Vermont, as well as the 283 in Pennsylvania and the 423 in New York.

Mr. Waite has been chairman of our executive committee for two terms, and has been an invaluable friend and counsellor.



League of Women Voters Co-operates with the N. M. L.—The League of Women Voters invited us to send a representative to their annual meeting in Cleveland in April, in order that their leaders might come in direct touch with the mature conclusions offered by our committee reports of the past twenty-seven years. In the article, *A New Civic Army*, printed in this issue, will be found some of the planks adopted by the women on this occasion. They have an ambitious program, but the sword of Damascus is back of it.



Optional Charter Bill Fails in New Jersey.—The Parry bill, making it possible for New Jersey cities to adopt city-manager government, although favorably reported out of committee after a hearing engineered by us, failed of passage.

The New Jersey chapter of the National Municipal League is reinforcing itself for steady and forceful action at the next session of the legislature.



Administrative Reform.—The League was recently called in to prepare plans for administrative reorganization for Arizona and Tennessee. In the former state a complete plan was submitted which the governor presented and urged before the legislature. It failed by one vote. In Tennessee we drafted a complete bill for a legislative committee. It failed by three votes in the senate. Our friends in these states will continue the work and prophesy success at the next session. Mr. A. E. Buck represented us in both cases.



A New Field for Our City-Manager Campaign Service.—Since the Illinois legislature has just adopted a city-manager law that will make city-manager government possible for cities and villages with a population of 5,000 or under, we can anticipate a new field for our city-manager campaign services.

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ACTIVITIES OF THE AMERICAN CIVIC ASSOCIATION

Housing and Zoning.—Judging from the inquiries received during the month, a good many communities are thinking seriously of zoning laws. They all want to know exactly what other towns have actually done. Requests for information concerning subdivisions and housing projects have come from Illinois and Pennsylvania. Leaders in most of these towns are willing to follow if they can find examples of good housing which pays its way. The American Civic Association would be glad to know of successful housing projects for small wage-earners in any part of the country.



National Park Resolution.—At the meeting of the executive board of the American Civic Association on May 27, a resolution was adopted which expressed appreciation to the president and the secretary of the interior for the principle recognized by continuing the National Park Service under a director whose experience and ability will insure a further development of the national parks in the interests of all their owners—the people of the United States. A resolution was also passed which reaffirmed the stand of the association against the Walsh bill to dam the Yellowstone River, calling special attention to the fact that a recent circular letter of Senator Walsh addressed to members of congress ignored the valid and sound objections to the dam advanced by the Department of the Interior. It was expressly set forth that in the opinion of the board no irrigation easement in the national parks should be considered by congress until after a full and exhaustive survey of the region in question made by the Reclamation and National Park Services in the Department of the Interior should establish the necessity for such easement.



Botanic Garden.—The executive board of the American Civic Association also passed a resolution in line with the article in this number on the L'Enfant Plan and the Grant Memorial. It was urged that the present gardens be removed to some other convenient location, if desired, in order to permit the development of the setting for the Grant Memorial. The establishment of an adequate, scientific, national botanic garden on the Mount Hamilton site was advocated.



Town Conference Circuit.—A limited number of towns and cities in the middle west, along the route of an economic circuit, are being invited to join in a series of town conferences planned by the American Civic Association to support measures advocated by the civic leaders in each community. The conferences will be absolutely local in character and their content will be determined by the towns themselves. The Circuit is made possible by the generous contribution of their services on the part of the members of the executive board of the association. The towns are thus assured speakers of national standing, men and women who can seldom afford the time necessary to accept speaking engagements in single towns.

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LEAGUE ACTIVITIES

Harvard Student Wins Baldwin Prize.—The Baldwin prize, offered annually by the National Municipal League for the best essay on municipal government by a college student, has this year been awarded to David Stoffer of Harvard University.

The subject of the winning essay was "The Effect of Non-partisan Elections on the Formation of Municipal Parties." The judges were Mr. Harry Freeman, city manager of Kalamazoo, Mich., Mr. W. P. Lovett, executive secretary of the Detroit Citizens' League and Prof. Robert C. Brooks of Swarthmore College.

This prize, which is open each year to students of American colleges is in memory of Mr. Wm. H. Baldwin. It was the intention of the donor to commemorate a man who achieved rapid success in the business world (he was president of the Long Island Railroad at 33) without sacrificing in any way his high ideals of fairness, humanity and good will in business. A hard working man, he yet found time to render large public service to the cause of education and good government. In short, he stood manfully for those ideals, to promote which the National Municipal League was formed.



Co-operation with the League of Women Voters.—In May our charter consultant, A. R. Hatton, and our field secretary, Walter J. Millard, delivered addresses at the Missouri annual state meeting of the League of Women Voters. July 11th our secretary, H. W. Dodds, addressed the Maryland State League of Women Voters at their annual meeting. July 14th, H. W. Dodds and A. R. Hatton addressed the New York group of the League of Women Voters at their annual meeting held at Scarborough. The subjects of the addresses were Short Ballot, Proportional Representation, City Manager Plan, Direct Primary, Improved County Government.



W. J. Millard Campaigned in Michigan City.—Four days prior to the election in Michigan City our field secretary, Walter J. Millard, was in that city assisting with the campaign for city manager government. We do not wish to take too much credit for the successful election in Michigan City but we feel that Mr. Millard helped greatly in spreading throughout the city a very thorough knowledge of the advantages of city manager government.



Campaigning in Cleveland for the City Manager Plan.—A. R. Hatton and W. J. Millard are engineering the campaign in Cleveland. They have started a school for the study of the city manager plan including proportional representation. All may attend (without charge); all may ask questions. Such a campaign means a liberal education for the voter provided he will take it. Organized political opposition has another type of instruction fully under way.



Message from the National League of Women Voters to the National Municipal League.—Answering our welcome to the field of civics "We are glad you're here," delivered through the June issue of the NATIONAL MUNICIPAL REVIEW Mrs. Maude Wood Park, president, responds on behalf of the National League of Women Voters "We are glad we're here."

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LEAGUE ACTIVITIES

Our Annual Meeting.—The dates are November 16 to 18. The place is Chicago. Our hosts, The Chicago City Club. C. A. Dykstra is chairman of the program committee. This is evidence enough that the program will be fiery, illuminating and interesting. We know that we met in the Central West last year, but Chicago is the geographical center of a large constituency, and wait until you hear the rest.

The A. C. A. will meet in Chicago at the same time. (See article in this issue.) That will double the crowd and give added life to the occasion. They will bring a lot of people you want to meet but who usually have to forego the League's meetings. We haven't met together since 1909. It will be a grand reunion.

The Civic Secretaries' Association will also be in session. They are active people with real, practical problems such as face all good citizens, and their conferences are always helpful.

Another attraction which this part of the country will hold out the same week is the meeting of the National Civil Service Reform League at Detroit, November 15 and 16, as the guests of the Detroit Bureau of Governmental Research. The measures for veteran preference in civil service, being adopted so generally, will be a feature of their program. If you go to Detroit, you surely must come on to Chicago.

We have saved a surprise for the last. The City Managers' Association will be there too, November 14 to 16. We shall overlap one day with joint sessions. The week will be a veritable political week. We guarantee that theory, inspiration and practice will be blended in perfect harmony.

The program is now being made up. Send your suggestions and desires to Mr. Dykstra or H. W. Dodds.



The Town and County Conference.—As you know, the League is co-operating with the University of North Carolina in a three-day conference on small town and county problems. A national gathering called to consider the too long neglected subject of village and rural government. The dates are September 19, 20 and 21. For fuller information see back cover of this issue.



The Portland Prize Award.—The Portland Prize for 1921 was won by C. Easton Rothwell of Reed College, Portland. The subject of his essay was "Municipal Development of Harbors and Docks." The judges were Fred W. Catlett, Esq., of Seattle, and William J. Locke, Esq., secretary of the League of California Municipalities.

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LEAGUE ACTIVITIES

Our Annual Meeting at Chicago, November 16 to 18.—This is a big chance to get four times the usual value for a dollar, since three other important organizations will meet the same week at the same place. They are the American Civic Association, the City Managers' Association and Civic Secretaries' Association. A four-ringed circus among civic associations is a rare bargain even in a period of falling prices.

Programs will be mailed soon to all our members. Full details concerning local arrangements and last-minute news about the program will appear in the November issue.



The First National Conference on Town and County Administration was held at Chapel Hill, North Carolina, September 19 to 21. The League co-operated with the University of North Carolina in arranging the meetings. President Harding, Secretary Hoover, Mr. Newton D. Baker and others sent greetings showing that they appreciate the important problems of rural and town life. Municipal finance, the city-manager plan, zoning, town planning, the county as a governmental unit, and a social agent were the principle subjects of the sessions. Dr. Howard W. Odum had charge of the program and arrangements, with the office of the League assisting. Dr. Odum deserves much credit for the success of a new kind of national conference.



Mr. Herbert Hoover Asks National Municipal League to Appoint a Representative to Zoning Committee of the United States Department of Commerce.—In developing information and educational work connected with home building, Mr. Herbert Hoover of the United States Department of Commerce is appointing a zoning committee to outline definite ideas as to the principles of zoning upon which municipalities should take action. Our president, Col. Henry M. Waite, has appointed Mr. Nelson P. Lewis to act as our representative on this committee. Mr. Lewis is also representing the City Planning Conference, who were requested to send a representative.



State-wide Demand for Our Speakers.—We have on our desk at this moment a demand for our speakers from the following states: North Carolina, Texas, Washington, Pennsylvania, West Virginia and Minnesota. The main interest seems to be for speakers on city-manager government and for reform in county government.

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NATIONAL MUNICIPAL REVIEW

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SERVING ALSO THE
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NATIONAL CITY PLANNING CONFERENCE

VOL. X, No. 11

NOVEMBER, 1921

TOTAL No. 65

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TWENTY-SEVENTH ANNUAL MEETING
NATIONAL MUNICIPAL LEAGUE

CHICAGO, NOVEMBER 16 TO 18

Headquarters, Chicago City Club, 315 Plymouth Court

PROGRAM

Wednesday, November 16.

9:30 A.M. The Financial Plight of Our Cities—What Shall We Tax?
(Joint session with City Managers' Association).

1:00 P.M. Is City Manager Government Applicable to Our Largest Cities?
(Luncheon with City Managers' Association at The Chicago City Club).

6:30 P.M. Banquet Meeting (Informal). Speakers to be announced.

Thursday, November 17.

9:30 A.M. Criminal Justice in American Cities—The Cleveland Survey.
(Joint Session with Woman's City Club of Chicago).

12:00 Noon Joint Meeting of Council of National Municipal League and Executive Board of American Civic Association.

2:30 P.M. The High Cost of Housing—New York and Chicago Investigations.
(Joint session with American Civic Association at the University of Chicago).

6:30 P.M. Zoning
(Joint dinner with American Civic Association at University Commons).

Friday, November 18.

9:30 A.M. How Should Large Cities be Represented in the State Legislature?
(Joint session with Illinois Municipal League).

1:00 P.M. Civic Organizations and Public Morality.
(Joint Luncheon with National Association of Civic Secretaries).

3:00 P.M. Annual Business Meeting—Action on Model State Constitution.

NOTES

¶ Hon. Morton D. Hull is chairman of the committee on arrangements, and Mr. C. A. Dykstra is chairman of the program committee.

¶ The Chicago City Club is our host. Meetings will be held in the club house unless otherwise noted.

¶ Final programs will be mailed to all League members.

¶ A complete model state constitution will be presented for debate and action at the business meeting. If you want an advance copy of this document, write this office and one will be sent you gratis.

¶ The American Civic Association meets in Chicago Nov. 13-17, City Managers' Association Nov. 14-16, The National Association of Civic Secretaries Nov. 16-18.

National Municipal Review

Vol. X, No. 1

January, 1921

Total No. 55

72
1921
The Fate of the Direct Primary

An American Garden City

A Year's Review of City Planning

*The National Municipal League and the American Civic
Association begin a year's coöperation by which the
REVIEW becomes the organ of the A. C. A.*

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Service at Cost for Street Railways
—A Supplement

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Chicago's Political Decline

Country Planning and National Forests

Reducing Unemployment by
Planning Public Works

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Civil Service and the Police

Where to Begin in Town Improvements

How We Ruin Our Governors

Ex-Governor Alfred E. Smith

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The Recall in San Francisco

The Direct Primary Weathers the Storm

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The St. Louis Political Machine

The Next Step in Civil Service Reform

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Pittsburgh Morals Court

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A Municipal Railway from Two Viewpoints

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